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ABSTRACT

The definitional and conceptual structure of the Esman model of institution building is described in great detail, emphasizing its philosophic and process assumptions and its latent dynamics. The author systematically critiques the Esman model in terms of its (1) specificity to the universe of institution building, (2) generalizability across societies and cultures, (3) ability to discriminate between varied institution building situations and tasks, (4) utility for strategizing and engineering, (5) ability to focus not only on the client system but also on the nature and structure of the system of advice, (6) ability to include dual focus on internal organizational design and external institutional interfaces, (7) mobility in shifting analysis between molecular and molar configurations, and (8) utility for explanation and operationalization. The author concludes that although the Esman model has made a valuable contribution to the study of institution building in the past, the time is ripe for a new conceptual leap in the field. (Author/JG)

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INSTITUTIONAL APPROACHES TO INNOVATION AND CHANGE: A REVIEW OF THE ESMAN MODEL OF INSTITUTION BUILDING

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January 1976

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INSTITUTIONAL APPROACHES TO INNOVATION AND CHANGE: A REVIEW OF THE ESMAN MODEL OF INSTITUTION BUILDING

By H. S. Bhola*

During the last twenty years or more, institutional approaches to innovation and change have come to be a part of the prescription for developing the Third World. Social change, it is suggested, will come through changes within existing institutions and through building new institutions. Modernization will be mediated through modernizing institutional structures.

These institutional approaches, in themselves, have varied considerably in scope and emphasis. Some have focussed on the design of institutions of public administration and governance,[1] others on building institutional structures specially suited to handling developmental tasks,[2] still others have taken up the challenge to promote entrepreneurship[3] within institutions which, they suggest, would lead to organizational innovation and improved productivity. Again, institutional approaches have been interpreted broadly enough to include the transformation of the total set of political, social and economic institutions;[4] and they have been narrowed down to focus only on the design of the human architecture of a particular organization.[5]

Often over the last many years, USAID in its technical assistance efforts in the developing world has worked from the position that the

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developing countries of the Third World could be best helped by giving them gifts that would keep on giving; by assisting them, that is, in developing new and modernizing institutions that would ultimately transform those societies from traditional to modernist, problem-solving systems. AID has worked as a catalyst in bringing together the intellectual resources of American universities to analyze, elaborate, and tackle the problems of, what has come to be described as, the institution building process; and it has acted as an underwriter to send scores of institution builders to the Third World to ply their trade of institution building.

The Esman model of institution building, a product of this USAID thrust, was first presented in the International Development Review[6] in 1962 and has been widely applied during the last ten or more years both within and outside of the Inter-University Research Program on Institution Building. Seldom have conceptualizations in social sciences met such good fortune.

This model has also been widely critiqued, both formally and in terms of operational utility. Critics have pointed to problems of its orientation, and its definitions and categories. Users have found it difficult to operationalize certain concepts or to find referents when engaged in institution building in real-life situations.

The criticisms have not been fatal. The model is very much alive. Users and reviewers have been critical, but they have also been always impressed. The Esman model did provide them with a language of discourse for the universe of institution building. However, after twenty years of experience with institution building, it is time to build upon the accumulated work of

Esman and others in the hope of achieving a cumulation of results in more dynamic and more powerful models and approaches.

The Esman Model of Institution Building

This section is based on a chapter by Esman in Institution Building and Development: From Concepts to Applications, edited by Joseph W. Eaton.[7] Here Esman has used a graphic artifact, a diagram,[8] to sum up the terms composing the model. That diagram is reproduced below:

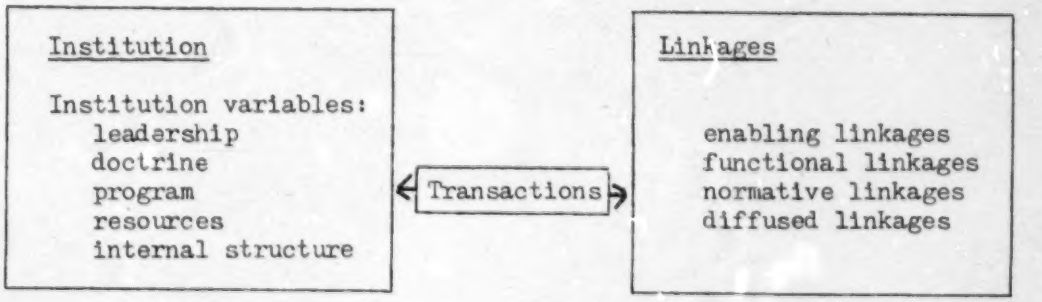

Figure 1. The Institution-Building Universe.

Esman defines his terms thus:

Institution-Building

"Institution-building may be defined as the planning, structuring, and guidance of new or reconstituted organizations which (a) embody changes in values, functions, physical, and/or social technologies, (b) establish, foster, and protect new normative relationships and action patterns, and (c) obtain support and complementarity in the environment."[9]

Leadership

Leadership is considered to be the single most critical element in institution building. It refers to "the group of persons who are actively engaged in the formulation of the doctrine and program of the institution and who direct its operations and relationships with the environment.... The leadership group comprises both the holders of formally designated leadership positions and others who exercise important continuing influence over the institution's activities."[10]

Doctrine

Doctrine is defined by Esman as "the specification of values, objectives, and operational methods underlying social action."[11] Thus doctrine covers both goals and styles of action. Additionally, doctrine includes and is derived from themes shared by the organization as well as by its external environment.

Program

Program in Esman's formulation refers to "those actions which are related to the performance of functions and services constituting the output of the institution."[12]

Resources

Resources are defined in Esman's paper as "the financial, physical, human, technological and informational inputs of the institution."[13] Later in the same chapter Esman classifies resources as "legal and political authority, personnel, funds, equipment, facilities, and information."[14]

Internal Structure

Internal structure is defined as "the structure and processes established for the operation of the institution and for its maintenance."[15]

Transactions

Transactions are specific exchanges. Four types of transactions are seen as being made to maintain a network of exchange relationships with a limited number of organizations in the environment. These transactions are made for: (1) gaining support and overcoming resistance, (2) exchanging resources, (3) structuring the environment, and (4) transferring norms and values.[16]

Linkages

Linkages are patterns of "interdependencies which exist between an institution and other relevant parts of the society."[17]

Four types of linkages are suggested:

Enabling Linkages "with organizations and social groups which control the allocation of authority and resources needed by the institution to function."[18]

Functional Linkages "with those organizations performing functions and services which are complementary in a production sense, which supply the inputs and which use the outputs of the institution."[19]

Normative Linkages "with institutions which incorporate norms and values (positive or negative) which are relevant to the doctrine and program of the institution."[20]

Diffused Linkages "with elements in the society which cannot clearly be identified by membership in formal organization."[21]

In his 1972 paper,[22] from which we have been quoting definitions in this section, Esman discussed the assumptions underlying the model, its context, and its functions. An analysis of those assumptions must precede the various critiques of the model and an evaluation of those critiques.

This analysis addresses two issues: (1) the paradigmatic context of the model; and (2) the dynamic content, if any, of the model.

The Paradigmatic Context of the Esman Model

Diagrams and flow charts are often inadequate representations of the theoretical approaches they seek to present. Such diagramatic representations are always anchored in a particular world view. They reflect a set of assumptions, and project particular value positions. That is, they have a particular paradigmatic context. Esman's diagram is thus an incomplete representation of his approach. Improtant statements lie scattered elsewhere.

The following statements may be seen as constituting what we have called the paradigmatic context of the model:

1. Significant contemporary change--especially in developing societies--can be deliberately planned and guided. It need not be random and autonomous.

1.1 Change involves "qualitative changes in norms, in behavior patterns, in individual and group relationships, in new

perceptions of goals as well as means. It is not concerned with reproducing familiar patterns, with marginal deviations from previous practices, or with incremental improvements in efficiency. The dominant theme is innovation."[23]

2. Initiatives for deliberately planned and guided change in a society are taken by an elite in that society, and, within settings of technical assistance, also by technical elites from donor countries and organizations.

3. Inducing planned change in developing societies involves promotion, within those societies, of "new physical and social technologies."

3.1 These physical and social technologies, while new and innovative, should nonetheless be related to the "felt needs" of the people to whom they are offered.

4. The efficient assimilation of new physical and social technologies requires that the social environment of the client system provide supporting values, norms, processes, and structures which usually are not present when the new technologies are introduced.

4.1 Cultures have to change to incorporate the new physical and social technologies offered to them.

4.2 Innovations should be viewed as experiments. Technological innovations must be adapted to local conditions and realities without, however, abandoning the innovative thrust as the price of survival.

5. Promoting new physical and social technologies requires the creation of new institutions within client systems and changes

within the structures of existing institutions. This process, described as institution building, is not only an important approach to social change, it can be considered generic.

5.1 Institutions are defined to include only formal institutions. Often, a bureaucratic structure is assumed.

6. The institution building approach to change is applicable both in intra- and international contexts of planned change.

7. Institution building is not organization building, for an organization is not an institution. An institution is an organization and its network of support in the environment. In other words, an institution is "a change-producing and change-protecting formal organization and the network of support it develops in the environment."[24]

8. Institutionality then denotes that "at least certain relationships and action patterns incorporated in the organization are normative both within the organization and for other social units, and that some support and complementarity in the environment has been attained."[25]

9. Institutionality according to the model assumes the following five conditions:

   (i) Technical capacity has been established within the organization.

   (ii) There is commitment to organizational norms both within the organization and in the environment. That is, "innovative norms and action patterns are valued within the

organization and by the larger society and are incorporated into the behavior of linked organizations and groups."[26]

(iii) The organization has retained its innovative thrust and has not merely survived at the cost of some sort of goal displacement.

(iv) It has a good image in the environment.

(v) A spread effect (from the organization to other organizations within the environment) has taken place.

10. Good change is never coercive.

11. Change is a process that is at the same time political and educational.

11.1 Change processes may be cultural (relying on strategies related to values, attitudes, symbols, emotions, indoctrination and other subcognitive methods), technological (relying on strategies involving intellectual commitments to changed roles and work patterns), and political (involving redistribution of power). All the three must be used in institution building in a variety of sequences and combinations.

The Latent Dynamics of the Esman Model

Graphic presentations of models may yet be unable to represent the dynamics of processes. The description of the universe of institution building as given by Esman, at first sight, only suggests an aggregation of "variables."[27] "Transaction" is the only "active" noun in his universe. Dynamic relationships,

if any, between these "variables" have to be searched for in Esman's elaborations. With this in mind, the following statements included in Esman's own description and discussion of the model should be examined:

1. To institutionalize, the elite or the leadership must manipulate both the internal structure of an organization and its external relationships. "Building viable organizations and managing their linkages are closely interrelated aspects of a single institution building process."[28]
2. Leadership is the single most important variable in the process of institution building.
3. Leadership makes power-and-influence transactions with the outside environment to enable the organization to become an institution.
4. The internal structure is manipulated so as to:
   (i) Get a proper distribution of labor, i.e., of roles within the organization.
   (ii) Establish appropriate formal and informal patterns of internal authority.
   (iii) Establish appropriate communication systems.
   (iv) Build commitments on part of the organizational personnel to institutional doctrine and program of action of the organization, and
   (v) Establish methods of mediating and resolving disputes between role incumbents.
5. Both internal structure and external environment are dealt with through strategic planning and operational monitoring (by bringing the best in organizational theory, and administration

and management research findings, to bear on particular problems of institution building.)

It is in such propositions that the Esman model of institution building is anchored. The first set of statements gives us some idea of Esman's world view. Those statements help put his model in perspective. The second set of statements explores the dynamics that might be latent in the model. These statements tell us a little bit about how Esman sees those variables coming into dynamic relationships as the institution building processes are initiated by leadership.

Criteria for Evaluation of Institution Building Models

Models of institution building, like other models of change, must satisfy formal criteria of description, explanation, prediction and control as well as the scientific methodological requirements of objectivity and scepticism.[29] Some further substantive requirements may be stated as follows:

(1) Specificity to the Universe of Institution Building. An institution building model will almost certainly be a systems model. It should, however, be such a translation of a general systems model that has been made specific to the universe of institution building and organizational design.

(2) Generalizability across Societies and Cultures. While a model of institution building should be specific to the universe of institution building, it should be generalizable

across societies and cultures. An institution building model should be applicable to the developed world and to the underdeveloped, to the free world and to the colonized, to highly regimented societies such as USSR, and to soft states and systems of "institutionalized instability."

(3) Discriminations in regard to Institution Building Tasks. The institution building model should be able to discriminate in regard to the differing scope and structure of institution building stiuations and provide strategies for performing needed tasks. Thus it should cover instances that involve (a) creating a new institution, (b) expanding and upgrading an existing institution, (c) creating a new institution but incorporating an existing unit into it, (d) reforming and institutionalizing an existing nebulous organizational structure, (e) carving out parts from an existing institution to create a new institutional mechanism, (f) institutionalizing inter-organizational relationships, and (g) terminating the life of an organization that is no more needed.

(4) Engineering Bias. An institution building model should have an engineering bias. It should be possible to use the model to develop situational strategies for undertaking institution building tasks. Institution building is change-oriented. Often the setting up of an institution involves the use of an institutional strategy to bring about social, political, economic or educational change within a social system. Institutional redesign, again spells change in the status quo,

requiring both internal adjustments and external adjustments with clients and institutional networks surrounding the redesigned institution. An institution building model, therefore, must be a dynamic model and must focus on the change process.

(5) Focus on the Actor System and Actor System Structure. Since an institution building model professes to deal with induced or planned change, it should also focus on the planners of change, and actor systems which are working on the institution building tasks. These actor systems may have different structures and relationships with the institution in the making, or being subjected to redesign. Institution builders in one case may be a team of foreign experts, in another case a powerful national committee. In one case their national committee may be a high powered body with statutory powers, in another it may be a rather weak in-house task force. In other words, different configurations of influence relationships between innovators and adopters will exist in different contexts of institution building; an institution building model must be able to account for all the various configurations of influence and compliance.

(6) Dual Consciousness--Internal and External. The institution building process is a combination of the processes of (a) organizational design and (b) organizational launch within the institutional space of a society. An institution building model, therefore, must have a dual consciousness; it should take account of introversion and extroversion at the same time. Institutions must be designed to be internally

consistent functional systems of roles and rules for relating those roles. On the other hand, they must be externally consistent. That is, they should be able to "take on" to the existing institutional networks and needs systems of the society or a sub-culture.

(7) Adjustable Molar-Molecular Focus. An institution building model should have an adjustable focus for moving easily between molar systems and structures and molecular configurations of groups and individuals. It should be able to combine psychological and sociological approaches, dealing with individuals and structures at the same time.

(8) Understandable, Useable, Explanatory. An institution building model should have referents in the real world of institution building. Finally, the model should be able to explain the success or lack of success of institution building efforts; and since good explanation can help both plan and predict future actions, a good model will be useful both in planning and predicting.

A Critique of the Esman Model

Even though the Esman model, when first proposed, had meant modestly to be an orienting device, it has since gone through extensive field-testing and various advocacies. The review that follows, now critiques the model-with-its-elaborations. Such a comprehensive and systematic review should help researchers and practitioners better understand what the Esman model can do and what it can not do.

1. Transactions and Exchange Relationships

Even a cursory look at the graphic presentation of the Esman model should point up problems with the definition of the concept of transactions. A transaction, essentially, should involve interaction between two parties. One party in this model is, clearly, the Institution. Who else is involved in the transactions? Are Linkages the other party? A reading of Esman's discussion of his graphic model indicates that transactions are made through linkages by an institution for purposes of maintaining a network of exchange relationships with a limited number of organizations in the environment. These transactions may be enabling, functional, normative, or rather diffused. This confused definition of transactions has caused practitioners using the Esman model to have found difficulties in "analyzing transactions separately from linkages."[30]

2. Linkages, and Linkage Types

Linkages are systems of transmission. They should not be defined in terms of the messages that are transmitted over them, such as: information, support, values, authority, pursuasion, affections, and courtesies. Such a definition of linkages would be useless, especially when the same linkage could indeed fulfil different transmission tasks at different times.[31] It would be like categorizing radio receivers in terms of the broadcast messages they receive rather than, for example, as AM and FM radio receivers.

It will be closer to the tradition of sociometry (and of information theory) to define linkage as the state of being linked and to

distinguish between formal and informal linkages. Informal linkages could possibly be implicit in the formal, but the model makes no such hint.

This distinction between formal and informal linkages opens up two possibilities which the Esman model does not consider. A consideration of informal linkages would direct attention to informal systems within organizations, the human architecture built in the shadow of formal and technical systems. This, in turn, would point up to the need and modes of inter-hierarchical communication and behavior within institutions. Thus one would be able to focus on the decision-making process within institutions as a combination of hierarchical command and bargains of informal power involving both competition and cooperation.

3. Institutional Variables or an Aggregate of Variables

The five "variables" -- leadership, doctrine, program, resources, and internal structure -- characterized by Esman as institutional variables are an aggregate of constructs that do not seem to be embedded into an articulated theoretical structure. These constructs need to be dissolved into a formulation at once more parsimonious, comprehensive, and general.

Consider conceptualizing an organization as a social entity emerging from an invention of roles and rules for relating those roles, provided with resources to do work in an environment.[32]

The Role variable will subsume Esman's leadership. But it will have greater content insofar as it will also include other than leadership roles and will relate the conceptualization to the tradition of role theory.

The Rule variable will subsume Esman's internal structure. But rules as prescripts for power-and-compliance relationships between roles will link the conceptualization with the traditions both of power and communication theory. Rule making, thus viewed, would cover three systems of relationships, the formal authority system, the technical system dictated by program and technology, and the informal system.

The three remaining "variables" of the Esman model, doctrine, program and resources, need not appear independently as institutional variables since these are the very stuff of the enabling, functional, normative and diffused transactions made by the organization with its environment. These "variables" are part of the quid pro quo between the organization and the environment that surrounds it. The organization will be provided resources so that it can, in return, provide to the environment, a program according to a doctrine.

4. Definitional Problems With Esman's Institutional Variables

The definitional problems connected with each individual institutional variable in Esman model are many. Let us take each variable for discussion in turn:

Leadership

Leadership is considered by Esman as the single most critical variable, yet it is not well-defined. The confusion between formal and informal leadership, and between leadership within and outside the organization gets more confounded if we attempt to accommodate the foreign consultant's role under the leadership rubric. Esman's

definition of leadership would suggest that perhaps the consumer is also a leader since he would structure the organization by buying or not buying goods and services produced by the institution. Finally, in emphasizing the "leader," the structural aspects of the organization get played down.

Doctrine

The definition of doctrine is, again, weak in Esman's model. Jorns[33] considers the concept redundant because doctrine would be the part of the problem of making normative transactions.

One wonders why the word used is not simply policy. Policy can be defined as a statement of intentions of the elite in a society to direct and to harness social power for new social outcomes.[34] Such a view puts policy making and institution building in an unambiguous relationship in the dynamics of planned change. Such a perspective generates new insights.

It has also been suggested[35] that the use of word goals instead of the word doctrine would have been at least more heuristic. The concept of organizational goals has generated much useful discussion in the literature of organizational behavior and such use would have, therefore, attracted attention to the dynamic multiplicity of organizational goals, including at the same time:

(i) Official rules and regulations of the institution,

(ii) What the top level management views the goals to be,

(iii) What the workers view the goals to be, and

(iv) What society views the goals of an institution to be.

This would have enabled the institution builder to ask some very useful questions.

Program

"Program" is a rather harmless concept in the form in which it is used in the model. It is at the same time useless in explaining institution building processes. Good programs do not always assure survival of an organization and its subsequent institutionalization. Program merit does not always matter.

Resources

Esman is not unambiguous about the concept of resources. For example, he uses different lists of resources in references to this variable at different stages of his discussion. More significantly, he does not clarify that resources are needed both by innovator systems and the client systems for new technologies to be adopted and institutions to get institutionalized.

Internal Structure

Esman's concept of the internal structure of an organization does not acknowledge the living systems within organizations. The subordinate strata within organizations are also unnoted. It seems that his concept of leaderships crowds most else off the conceptual stage.

5. The Theoretical Anchors of the Esman Model

We have pointed out how the Esman model does not always integrate its concepts and constructs and their organization with other tested theoretical traditions. One could relate the model with a systems

perspective. But opportunities to build connections with other theoretical traditions, such as information theory, sociometry, organizational behavior, role theory, exchange theory are left to others to be discovered and exploited.

Siffin has suggested three related formal problems with the model:

a. Not a Theory

Siffin in a review of the Esman model shies from according it the status of a theory. Theory, by definition, is "a general statement of some regular, predictable relationship between two or more types of things." The institution building perspective does not explain institutionality as a quality related to some other quality or qualities in a regular, determinate (or probabilistic) fashion that can be observed."[36] The statements constituting the Esman's perspective, Siffin further suggests, are "as if" statements rather than "if/then" statements. In the words of Anatole Rapoport, whom Siffin quotes, the Esman's perspective has "explanatory appeal" rather than "explanatory power."

b. A Priori Nature of the Model

The Esman model, Siffin,[37] again, has suggested, is a priori. Siffin asserts that the model "was not built by the sifting, sorting, and aggregating of large number of cases or experiences;" it was simply asserted as a perscription. (The model has since undergone much testing.)

c. Unoriented, and Disoriented

The model is unoriented, according to Siffin, for "it does not include a specification of the limiting conditions of its pertinence."[38]

It can also be asserted here that the model is disoriented. It does not indeed include a specification of the boundaries of the phenomena it does deal with. While the author asserts that the model could be used both in intra- and international contexts, the underlying assumptions of the model relate to institution building in the international context as part of a technical assistance effort and not within national contexts.

The model makes distinctions between planned change and autonomous and random change, but it does not develop any discriminations about change events and episodes within the universe of planned change. The user is, therefore, unable to address important distinctions between institution building as part of technical assistance within a diplomatic setting with geopolitical considerations and intercultural and inter-organizational complexities;[39] and institution building within national settings which even though a political process, is very different from the former phenomenon both in scope and dynamics.[40]

6. Building an Institution or Transforming a Whole Culture?

Esman's definition of institution building is grandiose. The phenomenon that Esman aims to include in the model is too large for his perspective. Philip Selznick's definition[41] of institutionalization is quoted by Esman with approval: To institutionalize is to infuse with value beyond the technical requirements of the task at hand. Esman and Bruhns have elsewhere distinguished between an organization and an institution: An institution, they suggest is

> ... an organization which incorporates, fosters, and protects normative relationships and action patterns and performs functions and services which are valued in the environment. Thus, while all institutions are organizations of some type, not all organizations are institutions.[42]

There are several problems with this definition.

First, we do not know how in the real world to distinguish between an organization and an institution. How do we know that an organization has now become "change-inducing, change-protecting, and formal" and, therefore, has grown up to be an institution?

Second, and more importantly for a change maker, how does an institution builder promote the metamorphosis of an organization into an institution? Esman suggests that an institution builder should concern himself with innovations that imply (a) qualitative change in norms, (b) in behavior patterns, (c) in individual and group relationships, and (d) involving new perceptions of goals as well as means in the society. That is nothing less than a total transformation involving changes that are cultural, political and technological at the same time.

Change in individual behavior <u>may</u> result in new individual and group relationships. These new individual and group relationships <u>may</u> get support from new internalized norms. These new internalized norms may have implications for life and work within organizational settings. A critical mass of organizations with new values and structures <u>may</u> lead to new perceptions of goals and means in the larger society. But an institution builder must distinguish between cumulative possibilities and certain events. To contemplate large-scale societal change through particular institution building projects can become absurd.

Esman does not take his own definition of institution building very seriously, or rigorously. He talks of institution building, but he tends to strategize for organization building. There is much emphasis upon using functional, enabling, normative and diffused linkages to produce the transactions needed for an organizational launch and survival with the probability of the organization becoming institutionalized.

Questions of evaluating institutionality and the resources needed to achieve institutionality are lightly treated.

7. The Donor (Innovator) System

The Esman model seems to equate the elite with leadership (which is described as a group phenomenon) and considers leadership to be the single most important variable. It does not address the donor (innovator) system in its own right.

Like many other change models, it smacks of a victim orientation--the client organization to be built or rebuilt, the organizational personnel to be formed, the environmental transactions to be actualized to change the organization into an institution. The model does not extend to encompass consideration of the possibility that the goals, structures and competencies of the donor system may often better explain successes or failures than what the client system did or did not do.

8. Value Confusion

The model uses some highly value laden words like "leadership" and "educational processes" in its discussion of the institution building processes. Regardless of Esman's assertion of the educational and

humanist orientation of the model, reviewers[43] have characterized it as technological, technocratic, ethnocentric, elitist, and generally lacking in humanism. Some of these comments are exaggerated but they are not without some basis.

Esman does posit the intent of institution building as bringing to the recipient system new physical and social technologies. There lurks here an implication in that, without this noble intervention from above, the technology in question would have remained beyond the acquisitional and accommodational competence of those in the culture to whom it is introduced.

Again, the bureaucratic model is assumed --valued distinctively as the appropriate instrument in all discussion. Structural innovations such as temporary systems, adhocracies, etc., are not accommodated.

The ethnocentric view of a technical assistance specialist has proved to be jarring to some but more so Esman's elitist point of view. For example, Esman does not explicitly stress any need to relate with subordinate systems within organizations or to the value systems of client groups outside of those organizations, save in terms of obtaining "the appropriate change."

This author is sympathetic with Esman's view of the role of the elite groups within societies[44] and organizations. However, such elites can and should have systems of ideas that are compatible with those of subordinate systems. They can, in principle, admit of mechanisms of participative interactions. That is, the elite can make collaborative and moral uses of power. Yet there is confusion or ambiguity or incompleteness at the least, in the model's posture toward the value implications of the planning of change by one for the

other. Esman disposes of all this by suggesting that planned change be both educational and political and rejecting what he calls coercive change.

Now, if change is a political process it must involve a use of power (sanctions and other authority if not physical coercion). By avoiding explicit consideration of sanctions in talking of change strategizing, the model leaves one in doubt about the realities of change dynamics. Resistance and conflict must be considered. Coercion must be examined. The inability to do so is likely to make a change agent rather naive. Unless the uses of coercion, social sanction, and other modes of power are understood, the change maker will be unable to cope with a change situation in which other actors (competing elite, or resisting elite) are using authoritative strategies. There is a need for incorporating and acknowledging the use of power in the institution building process, and for accepting power as a conceptually neutral force which can be moral and not corrupt, collaborative and not always a competitive aspect of a win-lose situation.[45]

9. Change is not Differentiated

Esman perceives institution building as "an ongoing pattern of relationship in which individuals, groups, and especially organizations, each participating in an area of activity, create and protect their interests."[46] Yet he does not provide a conceptual mechanism to handle these relationships between individuals and individuals, individuals and groups, groups and other groups, groups and organizations, etc. That is, he provides no taxonomy of change events that might be taking

place simultaneously within the same one institution-building episode.

This lack of a taxonomy of molecular (sub-systemic) change events inhibits an understanding of the real dynamics of change in which molar, system level changes are actualized through a multiplicity of molecular change events. The model does not conceptualize change in molar-molecular terms. Thus it does not facilitate the combination of ideographic and nomothetic approaches. Emphasis on leadership and attention to structure cannot be easily combined. For this reason it is difficult to follow in Esman's discussion the shifting of gears from cultural change to organizational change, from organizational change to group and individual initiatives. The model does not present the conceptual equivalent of what we have elsewhere labelled as "configuration plotting."[47] The institution builder without this tool cannot clearly delineate the linkages between the various actor configurations within an overall change event, or perceive the pathways for the flow of his information, influence, and power. He is unable from this model to see possibilities for alternative pathways of influence, or for coalitions and collaborations with other influentials, consultants and support systems. He is not helped to develop adaptive approaches to unanticipated contingencies.

10. A Model of Partial Concern

In short, the model remains a model of partial concern. It talks more of "organizational launch" within the network of existing institutions but not much of "organizational design." Esman's concern clearly seems to be of a student of public administration rather than of an organization theorist and practitioner.

11. Neglect of Strategizing

Siffin[48] characterizes the Esman model as a static model. He suggests that: "the perspective is static in the sense that it identifies a set of topical areas without (a) saying how they are interrelated, or (b) saying what to do about the respective categories."

Not surprisingly, little attention is paid by Esman to strategizing with the model. Where does one enter the system? How does one invent solutions? What is one doing when engaged in the process of developing strategies? What values are being created or increased or discounted?

The model claims to be useful as a "means of identifying operational methods and action strategies that could be helpful to practitioners and to persons actively engaged as change agents particularly in cross cultural situations."[49] But it only goes so far as to suggest that institution builders do "strategic planning" and "operational monitoring."

The model asserts that leadership is important; that sometimes one man can dominate a leadership group, and that change of leadership in that case should be considered a possible option. It recommends that doctrine be shared with staff to increase their commitments to the organization; to establish expectations of performance; to provide standards for decision-making; to provide criteria for evaluating results. It suggests that structure be adapted to shifts in program emphasis or other changes. It proposes that resources be mobilized to ensure steady and reliable availability.

If these are the tasks of leadership, then leadership should solve all problems, build all linkages, make all transactions to its own

advantage and yet always be engaged in learning and growth of self and others. Good Luck!

12. Problems of Evaluation

A proper change model is, as Guba and Stufflebeam[50] have suggested, also an evaluation model. No wonder Siffin demands[51] that institutionality be part of the model. In attempting to use the model analytically, Derge et al[52] had problems with operationalizing and consequently evaluating institutionality. Despite other statements, survival seems to be the residual index of the institutionality of an organization.

An index of institutionality should be developed. Questions like the following must be answered: In Sector X is Institution A more institutionalized than Institution B? Again, is Institution A in Sector X more institutionalized than Institution L in another Sector Y?

The Esman Model--With A Possible Correction

What should be done with these various critiques of the Esman model? Theories, models, and ideas in general die out of neglect rather than from criticism. Critiques are often kisses of life to models and theories.

The Esman model should not merely be critiqued; something should be done with it. Corrections should be suggested. We thus propose a reconstruction of the model. It does not take care of all the critiques presented in the preceding. It does seek to remove some of the most glaring problems.

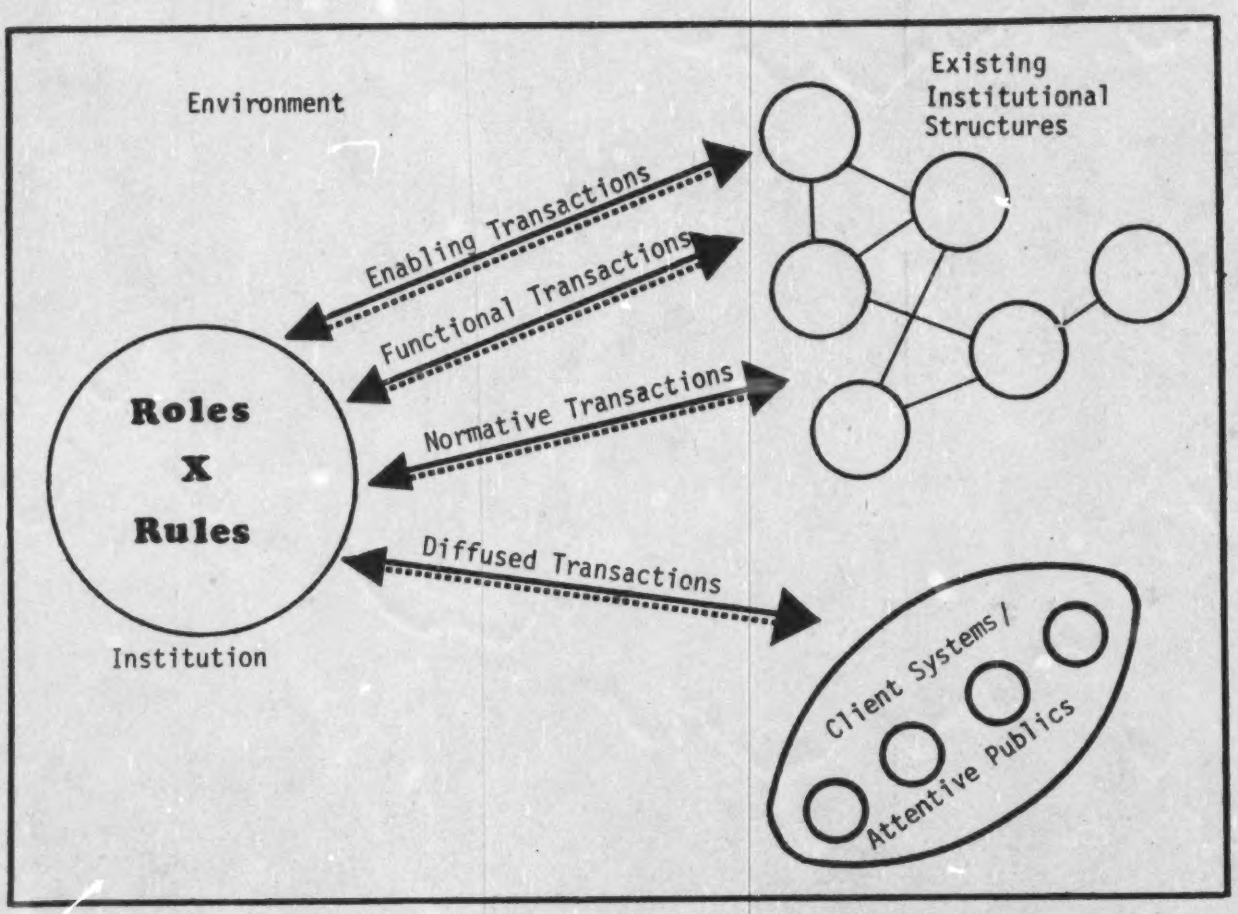

FIGURE 2: Bhola's Reconstruction of the Esman Model of Institution Building.

This transformation is conceptually more compelling and somewhat more parsimonious, yet its explanatory potential is not reduced. Resources, an important part of any change effort, are not disregarded but are treated as part of exchange transactions. The institutional obligations to the environment (program as doctrine in action) are not omitted, but encompassed in the institution's transactions with other institutions and the client systems and publics in the environment. On the other hand, the concepts of roles and rules bring us into the mainstream of role theory and organizational behavior which can help us in developing organizational design strategies. It is one further step. Others are needed. E.g., to deal with power as a dynamic in the domain of concern.

Conclusion

It is easier to critique theories and models than to construct them. Theory construction in social science is even more hazardous. Esman himself has claimed only that his model is a speculative theory, a concept generating mechanism. On a historical estimate Esman's model merits the critical attention of the sort attempted here. A current estimate indicates the need for new departures.[53]

References and Footnotes

1. See William J. Siffin, Two Decades of Public Administration in Developing Countries: An American's View. Bloomington, Ind.: International Development Research Center, July 1974. In a brief 18-page review Siffin provides an excellent commentary on the American experience with public administration in developing countries while suggesting directions for the future.
2. The need for special institutional arrangements for handling developmental tasks as well as the theory and practice of institution building in developmental settings is discussed in Fred W. Riggs, Administration in Developing Countries: The Theory of Prismatic Society. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1964. The study of developmental institutions has come to be a specialization within the general area of organizational design and institution building and a sizeable body of literature on developmental institutions has already become available.
3. David C. McClelland, Achieving Society. Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1961.
4. Gunnar Myrdal, Asian Drama: An Inquiry Into the Poverty of Nations. (volumes I, II, and III). New York: Pantheon, 1968. See Section 8 in the Prologue, "A Plea for an Institutional Emphasis," pages 26-31.
5. Richard A. Schmuck and Matthew B. Miles (Editors), Organization Development in Schools. Palo Alto, Calif.: National Press Books, 1971 is a plea for the use of this approach in education. Each area--business, army, religion--has its own advocates of the organization development approach.
6. Milton J. Esman, "Institution Building in National Development," International Development Review, December 1962.
7. Since its first publication in 1962 (see Footnote No. 6 above) Esman model has gone through various elaborations, e.g., Milton J. Esman and Hans C. Blaise, "Institution-Building Research--The Guiding Concepts," Pittsburgh: Inter-University Research Program in Institution Building, 1966 (mimeo); Milton J. Esman and Fred C. Bruhns, "Institution Building and National Development, An Approach to Induced

Social Change in Transitional Societies" in Hollis Peter (Ed.), Comparative Theories of Social Change, Ann Arbor: Foundation for Research in Human Behavior, 1966; Milton J. Esman, "Some Issues in Institution Building Theory," Purdue University, International Agricultural Development Program, July 1969 (mimeo); and Milton J. Esman, "Institution Building as a Guide to Action," prepared for AID Conference on Institution building, November 1969 (mimeo). We have decided to base our comments on the model as presented in Milton J. Esman, "The Elements of Institution Building," in Joseph W. Eaton (Ed.), Institution Building and Development: From Concepts to Application. Beverly Hills/London: Sage Publications, 1972, pages 21-39. In later references and footnotes, chapters from this book will be referred to simply as "Esman in Eaton" or "Siffin in Eaton," etc.

8. Esman in Eaton, Page 22.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., Page 23.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., Page 30.
15. Ibid., Page 23.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Ibid., Page 24.
22. Ibid., Pages 21-39.
23. Ibid., Page 21.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., Page 24.
26. Ibid., Page 25.
27. The word--variables--has been put within quotes to point out the fact that some critics of the model have considered Esman's use of the word

variables ill-advised in describing what are at best general labels of qualities, relationships and categories of action. See William J. Siffin, "Institution Building as Vision and Venture," in Eaton, Ibid., Page 47.

28. Esman in Eaton, Page 25.

29. See Harry S. Broudy, "Criteria for the Theoretical Adequacy of Conceptual Framework of Planned Educational Change." ERIC Document No: ED. 010.914.

30. Jamil E. Jreisat, "Provincial Administration in Jordon: A Study of of Institution Building." Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa., September 1968. 217 Pages. Abstracted in Melvin G. Blase, Institution Building: A Source Book. (USAID, 1973) as Item 64, Pages 143-144.

31. See David L. Derge et al., "Institution Building and Rural Development: A Study of United States Technical Assistance Projects." Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., 1968. Abstracted in Blase Source Book as Item 15 on pages 43-50. Derge and his associates found it difficult to operationalize the categorization of linkages proposed in Esman. The same linkage relationships were found to serve different purposes at different times and many were multi-functional at any given time.

32. Some Introductory Lessons on 'Organizational Literacy' for Functional Literacy Workers. Paper presented to the International Seminar on the Design of Educational Programs for the Social and Economic Promotion of Rural Women, Teheran, April 19-24, 1975; Sponsored by the Women's Organization of Iran, and the International Institute for Adult Literacy Methods, Teheran, Iran. ERIC Document No: ED.107.938.

33. William James Jorns, "Operational Analysis of Case Studies in Institution Building Theory." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, North Carolina State University at Raleigh, N.C. 1971. Abstracted in Blase Source Book as Item 14 on pages 41-43.

34. This definition of policy is proposed in H. S. Bhola, "The Design of (Educational) Policy: Directing and Harnessing Social Power for Social Outcomes," Viewpoints (Special Issue on Educational Policy: Design, Analysis, Interfaces), Vol. 51, No. 3, (May 1975), Pages 1-16. ERIC Document No: ED.098 657.

35. In a student paper presented to H. S. Bhola's Seminar, "Diffusion and Adoption of Educational Innovation: Models, Techniques, and Applications (R650)" offered through the School of Education, Indiana University, Fall 1974-75.
36. Siffin in Eaton, Page 46.
37. Ibid., Page 51.
38. Ibid., Page 52.
39. See H. S. Bhola, "The Limitations and Possibilities of Educational Diplomacy: A Theoretical Framework," Viewpoints (Special Issue on The International Dimensions of American Higher Education) Vol. 47, No. 5, September 1971, Pages 77-100.
40. See H. S. Bhola, "The Organizational and the Interpersonal in an International Development Education Project," ERIC No. ED.084.674. Also H. S. Bhola, The India Education Project: A Case Study of Institution Building and Organizational Conflict. Bloomington, Indiana: International Development Research Center, 1975.
41. Philip Selznick, Leadership in Administration: A Sociological Interpretation. New York: Harper and Row, 1957. Pages 17, 21-22.
42. Milton J. Esman and Fred C. Bruhns, "Institution Building in National Development: An Approach to Induced Social Change in Transitional Societies." Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1965. 34 pages. Abstracted in Blase Source Book as Item 113 on pages 209-211.
43. This is a reference to the reviews developed by the participants in the education change seminar, referred to in Footnote No. 35 above.
44. H. S. Bhola, "Notes Toward a Theory: Cultural Action as Elite Initiatives in Affiliation/Exclusion," Viewpoints (Special Issue on Planned Educational Change: Some Issues, Some Directions) Vol. 48, No. 3 (May 1972), Pages 1-37.
45. H. S. Bhola, The Design of (Educational) Policy, Cited in Footnote No. 34 above.
46. Esman in Eaton.
47. H. S. Bhola, "Configurations of Change--An Engineering Theory of Innovation Diffusion, Planned Change and Development," 1972. A paper developed for the graduate seminar, R650. (See Footnote No. 35 above.) This is an update of an earlier paper, H. S. Bhola,

"The Configurational Theory of Innovation Diffusion," Indian Educational Review, Vol. II, No. 1, January 1967, Pages 42-72. ERIC Document No. ED.011.147.

48. Siffin in Eaton, Ibid., page 51.

49. Esman in Eaton.

50. Egon G. Guba and Daniel Stufflebeam, Evaluation: The Process of Stimulating, Aiding, and Abetting Insightful Action. (Monograph Series in Reading Education). Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University, 1970.

51. Siffin in Eaton.

52. Derge et al., Ibid. (See No. 31 above).

53. A paper presenting Bhola's the configurational theory (or the CLER model) perspective on institution building is in preparation and will be available in 1976.